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THE

REASON OF MAN:

PART SECOND.

CONTAINING

STRICTURES

ON

RIGHTS of MAN;

WITH OBSERVATIONS

ON

Mr. ERSKINE's DEFENCE of Mr. PAIN,

AND THOUGHTS

ON THE

WAR with FRANCE.

By JOHN JONES,

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REASON of MAN, &c.

PART II.

I AM inclined to give the enemies of our constitution credit for their assertion, when they say, that "a government must be fundamentally bad, when it will not bear investigation." A political government certainly does not, like a timid beauty, excite admiration by shrinking from the scrutiny of critical observation. If the reason of man cannot defend his own works, it is plain that deformity prevails somewhere; and when detected in a government, it becomes a matter of political expediency to root it out.

The merits or demerits of a government must however have a more stable, and less capricious criterion to be estimated by, than opinion, especially if the opinion be found to militate against the established practice of the nation: not because abuses become sanctioned by being perpetuated; but upon the fair supposition,

that what mankind have long tried, and persist in adhering to, has something in it intrinsically right to justify the preference.

If, indeed, society was in its infancy, and, without any knowledge of the principles of government, was about to form a government for conducting its affairs, opinion, which is the persuasion of the mind without proof, must be resorted to from necessity. Not having the aid of experience to guide them, the people could not, from observation of the evils of this government or the advantages of that, form any rule for their own conduct. Every man would, consequently, then be free to enforce his own speculations upon the government to be established; and those opinions which wore the most plausible appearance, would, in all probability, determine the people in their choice —The propriety and wisdom of that choice time only could develope.

But is it consistent with the reason of man, that, after the experience of three thousand years, during which time successive generations have tried and estimated the merits of every species of government which the wisdom and ingenuity of man could suggest, the divine right of opinion should in the present day be maintained, over the consolidated experience of the world; and that governments should be made and unmade with as little refe-

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rence to the principles which have heretofore been found to produce good and evil in society, as in the infant state before referred to, when mankind had neither beacons to warn them, or examples for them to imitate.

I have ever understood, that the precepts of philosophy offer a most effectual antidote to human vanity, by showing man his own insignificance, and teaching him how little reliance he ought to place on his own individual judgment;—a faculty, in its best state, very liable to error.—What then shall we say to those, who, pretending philosophy, and yet notoriously violating her precepts, treat with disdain the common stock of wisdom which the experience of the world has for ages been furnishing, and arrogantly suppose themselves sufficiently illuminated for a task, the most arduous, in which wisdom can be engaged—namely, the formation of a government. The complicated evils which must result from governments constructed by such men, acting upon such principles, will always be commensurate with the vanity and ignorance exercised in their formation.—France is at this moment a gloomy monument of the triumph of the vain and speculative opinions of IGNORANCE, over the tried maxims of EXPERIENCE.

If, therefore, speculative opinion is an un-

safe, and frequently a false, guide to be trusted to in the re-organization of a state, the contexture of which is already torn to pieces—how seriously ought opinion to be resisted, when applied to the destruction of a government performing all the functions, and producing all the advantages, for which government was designed, namely, the happiness and prosperity of the people?—England will by and by laugh at her folly, in having given any countenance to the opinions of a man, who, in a work which strongly enforces the destruction of her old constitution and the adoption of one the ricketty offspring of his own brain, could gravely hold out such language as the following.—In the second part of "Rights of Man," page 93, Mr. Paine says—"*That on turning his attention to matters of government, he followed exactly what his heart dictated—He neither read books, nor studied other people's opinions—he thought for himself.*"—Now I appeal to the reason of every rational man; are these such pretensions as ought to beget any kind of confidence in the people they are addressed to? Mr. Paine candidly acknowledges that he has neither "*read books,*" nor "*consulted other people's opinions,*" on the merits or demerits of the English government; and yet, with the most unblushing effrontery he takes upon him to reprobate

probate that government *in toto*, the beauties and defects of which can only be ascertained by the means which he makes a boast of not having resorted to.—But though Mr. Paine, in spinning out his acrimony againſt the English government, neither consulted books or men, "*he* "*followed exactly what his heart dictated*"—This I am inclined to give credit to; because I never heard that his heart on any occasion ever dictated any good.—In private life, his heart was never known to possess any sentiments, but such as are a disgrace to the feelings of a man, though they may accord with his rights.—And his public life has been perfectly consistent with his private.—Whilst he was in America, and had some share in the direction of continental affairs, he made a formal declaration of hatred to Great Britain, the country which had the misfortune to give him birth, in terms, which the heart of a savage would not have dictated towards a nation he was at war with.—We shall not therefore wonder that Mr. Paine still follows the dictates of his heart, and neither consults books or men, when he is inviting the people of England in a friendly way to cut each others throats.

The following quotation will farther illustrate this part of the subject.—In "Rights of Man," part II, page 95, he has it thus—"*I*

" *was strongly impressed with the idea, that if I* " *could get over to England without being known,* " *and only remain in safety till I could get out a* " *publication, that I could open the eyes of the* " *people with respect to the madness and stupidity* " *of their government.*"—What is this but a palpable acknowlegment, that Mr. Paine considered the people of England as a parcel of idiots?—Their government is represented as both mad and stupid, and yet the people had neither common sense or common feeling, to discern it: In fact, they are here represented as stone blind to the abuses with which they are surrounded; and in this state of easy ignorance it seems they were doomed to remain, till their political occulist could cross the Atlantic ocean, and traverse a distance of 3000 miles, to open their eyes.—We likewise learn, that in this pious undertaking he was so apprehensive of provoking the vengeance of the people, that, whilst his prescriptions for the cure of their political diseases were preparing and sending out, he found it necessary to conceal his own valuable person, in the retreat of an obscure alley.

The following questions naturally arise out of these considerations.

First.—Whether or no the grievances of a people can be very excessive, or indeed whether any grievances can really exist, of which the people

people who must suffer by them are totally insensible?

Secondly.—Whether the designs of a man can be either honest or friendly,—who, witnessing or acknowledging the contentment of a people, undertakes a pilgrimage for the express purpose of persuading them that their happiness is not rational, and that their contentment is a libel upon their understandings?

And *Thirdly.*—Whether under these circumstances, the analogy, which Mr. Erskine drew between our SAVIOUR coming upon earth to preach peace, and the AUTHOR OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN, be not a gross and wicked impiety? and whether Thomas Paine would not have found a more suitable comparison, in the *Devil* going to Paradise, to work the destruction of its happy and contented inhabitants, and to sow the seeds of everlasting discord amongst their posterity?

In respect to the epithets which Mr. Paine has bestowed on the government of Great Britain, I have to observe, that, whether the government is good or bad, it has been moulded into its present form, in compliance with the wishes and desires of the English nation: nay, the nation has done more—it has not only expressed its wishes, but it has struggled, it has fought and bled at different periods, to make

its government what we now find it.—If, therefore, the government is mad and stupid, it was the madness and stupidity of the people that has made it so; and to them, and not to the government, the whole of Mr. Paine's calumny must apply.

I have selected the two foregoing passages to comment upon, because they most unequivocally establish the premises on which I sat out —namely, "that the merits, or demerits of a "government must have a more rational crite-"rion to be estimated by, than opinion." These passages convince us, that plausible opinions may avowedly be built upon ignorance, or dictated by the most inveterate malice; and yet make such an impression upon the people to whom they are addressed, that the government, which had for centuries been deemed an object worthy of praise and veneration, might in a moment be transformed into an object of censure and disgust.

It appears to me, that the truest and most infalliable test of the merits of a government is to be found in the condition of the people: this is a sure criterion to judge by; because a clear stream cannot flow from a polluted fountain.—An author*, to whom the English nation

* Junius.

is

is much indebted, expresses himself to this effect in the following animated words :—" To " be acquainted with the merits of a govern- " ment, we need only observe the condition of " the people. If we see them obedient to the " laws, prosperous in their industry, united at " home, and respected abroad, we may rea- " sonably presume that their affaits are conduc- " ted by experience, abilities, and virtue.—If, " on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of " distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of " trade, dissentions in all parts of the empire, " and a total loss of respect in the eyes of fo- " reign powers, we may pronounce without he- " sitation, that the government of that country " is weak, distracted, and corrupt."——It requires no political sagacity to determine which of those pictures represents England, and which portrays the situation of France.—If the glowing prospects of the former have lately been somewhat obscured,—It was the baneful breath of opinion that effected the change, and not the hand of government: Reason and experience are however daily expelling the delusion, and in a short time the nation will fully discover its real from its pretended friends. Let those (in France) who have endeavoured to swindle the people of England out of their constitution then look to themselves—the day of retribution is perhaps nearer than they imagine. I am

I am convinced, that, in contending for such a restraint upon opinion as to prevent it doing a national mischief, I am arguing decidedly against the sentiments of Mr. Erskine; but as that gentleman's sentiments, his principles and his designs, are at present very equivocal, his authority, which at one time stood for something, now stands for nothing. Mr. Erskine's doctrine of opinions, as delivered on the trial of Thomas Paine, is a memorable instance of what a lawyer can do, and will do, to explain away the guilt of the most notorious culprit that ever was indicted at the bar of an English court of judicature.—If Mr. Erskine had however confined his sentiments on this subject to a court of justice, in which he is professionally privileged to say any thing, the comments I am now making would have been impertinent.—But as Mr. Erskine chose to convene an indiscriminate company at a public tavern, to tell his story over again (under a pretext of maintaining the liberty of the press) —I of course consider his words as expressive of his principles, and as such they are equally open to animadversion as another man's.—Speaking of his client Thomas Paine, Mr. Erskine observes, "*His opinions indeed were averse "to our system; but I maintain that opinion is free, "and that conduct alone is amenable to law.*"—By which

which we are to understand that a man may address himself to the passions of a multitude —He may create fictitious grievances, to impress upon their minds—he may, by the grossest misrepresentation, excite in them a diabolical spirit of revenge, for injuries they never felt—and after pointing out the objects, against whom he would have their vengeance directed, he leaves them to their own ungovernable fury; —and he is not amenable to the laws of his country, for any violence this blind and deluded multitude may commit—because forsooth, "*opi-*" *nion is free.*"—If this is the reason of a lawyer, it is not the reason of man;—An English jury detected its fallacy at the moment it was uttered—their countenances bespoke their feelings, and their prompt verdict will be an everlasting monument of the triumph of plain sense over learned sophistry.

The mischief and evils that Mr. Erskine's doctrine of opinions lead to, is beyond calculation.

If governments are to be subverted by the opinions of this or that man, or this or that set of men, what security have the great bulk of the people acting under them, for the safety of their persons, or their possessions?—A moment's reflection will convince us, that mankind had better revert back to that savage state

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in which nature originally placed them, than be the subjects of a society, whose government is considered as a thing fashioned for the use of the day, which every projector may try experiments upon, and every political quack, who can mount the stage of public credulity, may crumble to atoms, and substitute another of his own manufacturing in its stead.

In a state of savage society, without a government, a man knows his resources.—He looks to no extrinsic power for protection; but what he acquires he must defend by his own arm.—In becoming the member of a civil society, his views from the consciousness of security become enlarged, and under the sanction of the laws he pursues a course of action, honourable and advantageous; be his rank in the scale of society whatever it may.—The evidence of his senses soon convinces him of the advantage of living under a government, where neither solicitude for his personal safety, nor the precariousness of supplying the calls of nature, distract his attention, or excite his fears.

But here a distinction must be made.

If the government, under which he places himself, inherits no stability—If it is a thing which the whispers of rumour may overturn, or the breath of opinion destroy—If successive sets of men, all perhaps degenerating in principle

ciple and abilities, are to inherit the powers of the state, and laws, which yesterday secured person and property, and rendered honourable certain modes of life by which that property was obtained, are to-day to give place to other laws, confiscating such property and prescribing the mode as infamous by which it was acquired—A man, I affirm, under such government, has made a bad exchange, and civil society presents more evils to him than the savage state he has receded from.—His life becomes, truly, a renovation of hope, with a succession of disappointment—The expectations of one moment are blasted in the next—His schemes, before they can be brought to maturity, are crushed by a decree, dictated perhaps by caprice, by resentment or the hopes of plunder, against which if he offers to remonstrate, he rebels; and his neighbour who may gain something by his fall becomes his executioner*

* In a late publication of Mr. JOEL BARLOW's, we are told that "When men are in the heat of a Revolution, encompassed "by treason and tormented by corruption, THERE IS AN APOLOGY "FOR HUMAN SLAUGHTER."---These are the sentiments of a man, who, in conjunction with Mr. Paine and others, was endeavouring to effect a revolution in this kingdom. The passage clearly informs us what would have been the consequence, had their designs succeeded. Every man who had opposed their views would have been considered as a traitor;---and the proportion of property, which a man possessed, would have been the mode by which they would have estimated his corruption. Either case would have been a sufficient plea for murder, and the assasin might have found an apologist in Mr. Joel Barlow.

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—Instead of a protector, he is led to contemplate his legislator as an ill-omened magician, who can, by the wave of a wand, convert his garden into a desart.

If any person supposes that the opinions advanced by Mr. Paine, and defended by Mr. Erskine, are not pregnant with the evils I have attributed to them, let him trace their progress and effect upon the French nation; there they found a soil fitted for their reception, and soon broke forth into action. Their influence upon the happiness and prosperity of that kingdom, like a blight or a mildew upon vegetation, has changed a prospect of fertility and abundance into a scene of desolation and dismay: this they have done, and they have done more—In their operation they have not only destroyed the courteous manners of the people, but by eating into the core of their hearts, have annihilated every vestige of sensibility, of honor, of justice, and of humanity.—The nation, now characterized only by a brutal and ferocious courage, can no longer boast any one feature that a feeling man does not contemplate with horror, and an honest man turn from with disgust.

How the opinions of Mr. Paine, which are avowedly the efficient cause of all this extensive destruction, should be countenanced in a country yet retaining its senses, is left for those to explain

explain who have with so much industry endeavoured to disseminate them.

But, lest it may be said that the preceding observations are the result of an over-heated imagination, let us try the case by appealing to matter of fact.—The French nation have realized Mr. Paine's opinions in their fullest extent.—All the ties which formerly bound the individual to the community have been destroyed, and every man has been left to act from the unrestrained impulse of his own free will.—The present Convention is said to be the genuine representative of the nation in its regenerated capacity; and to that Convention we may consistently appeal, to determine the character and condition of the people.

If then we look into that assemblage for the dignity of the nation, we find it to consist in uproar;—We see the arbitrators of twenty-six millions of people meet for profound deliberation, and terminate their debates by a boxing match.—If we seek for wisdom (common sense, the minor qualification of the mind, is beneath their elevated capacities) we witness it in expressions of a thorough contempt for all power in heaven, in hell, or on earth—excepting their own; we judge what use they make of their power, by the appeals and remonstrances which are continually heard at the Bar of their Assembly,

sembly, and which speak in very plain terms to this effect:

" *Legislators*, the decrees you have enacted " for the public happiness, have only produced " public misery.—Your paternal care for the " comfort of those who are fighting your bat- " tles, has induced you to leave no stone un- " turned to anticipate the wants of your citizen " soldiers; but, *grave and mighty legislators*, " the troops are universally without cloaths to " defend them from the inclemency of the sea- " son, and almost without victuals (except " what they can occasionally pilfer).—In fact " they are naked, and they are nearly starved. " *Legislators*, you have taken steps to stop the " insurrections in various provinces;—but, *ci-* " *tizens*, hunger will break through stone walls: " men must be permitted to complain, if they " have nothing to eat; it is a privilege which " the constitution gives, and you ought not to " deprive them of this last sad consolation.— " *Legislators!* whilst you are trifling your " time away in idle gasconade and contention " with each other, your manufactories are going " to inevitable decay; and your artizans, de- " prived of every encouragement that can give " vigour to industry are, for want of other em- " ployment turned public depredators—some of " them, *citizen legislators*, more depraved than

" the

" the rest, are secretly fomenting a plan to " overturn the glorious constitution which is " the cause of their misery, and to establish ano- " ther, which I am sure must be the detesta- " tion of every French patriot, because it will " have a tendency to promote the harmony " and happiness of the community."

The Convention, on these remonstrances, which are every day made in their presence, may for a moment lean to the cause of complaint; but as they have neither power nor inclination to redress the grievances of the people, the task is irksome to them, and they take the first occasion that offers to get rid of it.—The intrusion of a *Sans Culotte*,, with a patriotic gift of a snuff-box towards carrying on the war, sets them a-going again; and confusion, the standing order of the day, is immediately re-assumed.

We now proceed to their HUMANITY.—

It is found in a contention of the various parties in the assembly for the honor of being the principal instigators of the massacres of the 10*th of August, and of the* 2*d and* 3*d of September*—these are assuredly actions worthy of the contenders; and though they cannot decide amongst themselves, who had the greatest share in the bloody work, we give them all equal credit for their zeal in promoting it.—If their humanity is not suffi-

 ciently

ciently conspicuous here, it may be gathered in the vociferous cry for the blood of their unfortunate king, which resounded through the hall, for months before they murdered him.—If it is enquired " *What were his crimes*"?—The answer is—" *He had offended against the sovereignty* " *of the nation*";—but, as no one can tell in what that sovereignty then consisted, or where it is now to be found, the world will persist in considering him as the victim of an inhuman and sanguinary faction, who tried him WITHOUT JUSTICE, and executed him WITHOUT MERCY.—Even the voice of Mr. Paine, although he had long " *de-* " *clared war against the whole hell of monarchy*", was lifted up to deprecate the murder of Louis the XVIth—The author of the Rights of Man has no objection to stripping kings naked, and turning them out as vagabonds upon the charity of the world; but his *gentle* nature *revolts at the idea* of covering himself with their blood:—Which shows what many have denied, that there is *one crime* congenial with republicanism, which Thomas Paine is " *not yet up to.*"—

The declaration of rights, which the Assembly or Convention profess to be the rule of their conduct, and their conduct as it regards that declaration, will best explain their consistency, and their adherence to the common principles of justice.

In the preamble to this declaration is the following pious ejaculation—" *For these rea-* " *sons the National Assembly doth recognize and* " *declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being, and* " *with the hope of his blessing and favor, the fol-* " *lowing sacred rights of men and of citizens.*"—Now it is a truth that these *sacred rights*, which the Supreme Being was so religiously called upon to favor, have been uniformly violated. There is not one upon record which has not been grossly trampled under foot, not in a particular instance, but by a uniform system of conduct notorious to all Europe.—These SACRED RIGHTS are only to be found on the parchment where they were first inscribed; and the existence of that Supreme Being, whose presence was invoked to sanctify the deed, is now denied with applause in their public assembly. —Their crimes have had a regular progression; —they began in treachery; have been continued by injustice; and at length seek for shelter under the black wing of impiety.—Their arbitrary decrees, and their sanguinary actions, are the only monuments of their JUSTICE;—and they have been uniform, if the paradox may be allowed, only in their inconsistency.

This is a picture of that assembly, which professes to be the representative of the whole French nation;—not collected from rotten bo-

roughs, by the influence of a corrupt court, to support a degenerate and lawless system of kingly government—but *a representation delegated by the free suffrages of a numerous and a generous people—enlightened by philosophy, animated by liberty, and inspired by a love of justice.*

These are the complimentary terms in which the French nation is always addressed by the authors of its ruin. If the people of France really are that enlightened, that just, that magnanimous people; the first proof they can give the world of their possessing these qualities will be, to crush that miserable faction, which, by professing to represent them, disgraces them in the eye of the whole world.

As resistance to a well regulated and justly administered government is deemed in the highest degree criminal; so, towards a government caracatured in the manner I have described, obedience becomes an act of folly, and resistance highly meritorious—It matters not of what materials such government is composed, or under what mask the imposition is carried on;—the feelings of the people, for it is no longer a case of opinion, must determine the extent of the abuse; and the only question with them ought to be, the manner of getting rid of it, and the proper mode of punishing those who had abused their confidence.

At what period the people of France will have sense and spirit to do this act of justice to themselves, their present conduct however furnishes but little room for conjecture. It is matter of curious investigation, how twenty-six millions of people should become enraptured with a system which has ruined their country, annihilated their trade, and reduced themselves to beggary and distress.—If there was not an incongruity in supposing that a whole nation could go mad at the same time, it would be the best apology that could be made for the conduct of France. The constitution of that country, so much boasted of, and so tauntingly held out as an example to England,—What is it? and what benefit do the people derive from it?—From the manner in which it is deified, we might naturally expect that it was "MEAT, DRINK, WASHING and LODGING" to the whole nation; and yet the greater part of those who are most extravagant in its praise, have neither a LOAF TO EAT, a BED TO LIE ON, or a SHIRT UPON THEIR BACKS.

After all Mr. Paine's nonsense about constitutions, the constitution of a nation is exemplified only in the wisdom and excellence of its laws, and the justice of their administration; and those laws must derive their excellence from the genius and constitution of the people who

frame them.—England, amidst all her vicisitudes and struggles, has had a constitutional and comprehensive reason working at bottom, animating and directing the whole system of her jurisprudence. Reason was hereditary in England long before the people inherited liberty. By this divine energy of the mind they worked out their political salvation—in the attainment of which they have discriminated, with an exactness unparalleled in history, the point at which liberty ends and licentiousness begins—If, in their struggles for the best of human blessings, they have sometimes erred from excess of zeal, their good sense has soon brought them back again to their object.—In securing their independence, they never sacrificed national prosperity;—nor has the paltry hope of aggrandizement, or the fear of personal danger, ever diverted them on the one hand, or intimidated them on the other, from the pursuit of what their reason told them was right and just.

The very reverse of all this is the case in France. If we seek for a constitution in the wisdom and operation of her laws, the result will convince us that she has no constitution.—Her laws are altogether inefficient to the purposes of civil society. They are incompetent to protect, and inadequate to punish.—The honest and virtuous; old age and infancy; the helpless

helpless of both sexes, and of every condition, in vain look to the laws of that country for defence against the midnight thief or the mid-day murderer, against the ruffian and the ravisher. Crimes that have heretofore skulked under the mantle of night, now walk abroad in open day and in contempt of the laws—The criminal needs no disguise, because he fears no punisher. —Every rational man is now convinced, that the reason of France is nothing more than an intellectual twilight, which, instead of being able to grasp and modify a system for the happiness of mankind, has hitherto been unable to dissipate one particle of that folly which for so many centuries has been the undisputed and unenvied inheritance of that kingdom.

Where then shall we find this boasted constitution, so be-praised by Mr. Paine, and so extolled by Mr. Fox? It is to be found in the National Convention! It is posted up in large characters behind the chair of their president, and the members use it as they do their honor, to swear by, but they never make it the rule of their conduct.—Copies of this paper constitution are circulated into every corner of France; and the people, imitating the example of their representatives, make use of it in exactly the same way.

This tragi-comedy of French regeneration is now drawing to a conclusion. The murder of the King and the declaration of war against Great Britain, may be considered as the opening of the last act. As the plot developes itself, we become more intimately acquainted with the characters and designs of the actors; and it must be acknowledged that imagination with the aid of experience, has never been able to furnish the mimic scene with such exquisite villainy—such deliberate treachery—such systmatic and bloody minded cruelty, as the Theatre of France has exhibited within the short compass of four years.—In other instances which history records of human turpitude, we see villany only in the abstract: It remained for France to exhibit to the world a full-blown code of human iniquity in which is combined "*the* "*gathered sweets of every hive*"—The POET, the MORALLIST, and the PHILOSOPHER of future times will no longer recur to the early and barbarous ages of the world for instances of human depravity in its most hideous and disgraceful colours.—The present National Convention of France will furnish inexhaustible materials for the purpose, to the latest posterity.

Having now discussed this part of the subject, as far as the limits of my plan will allow,

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I proceed to make some observations upon the war in which we are engaged.

As the conduct of France, in her endeavours to effect a revolution in this country, her subsequent and unprovoked violation of our treaties, and lastly her insidious declaration of war against us, renders it necessary for Great Britain to draw her sword in her own defence. It is to be hoped that she will not sheath it again until she has put it decidedly out of the power of her enemies to disturb her repose, or interrupt her growing prosperity.—Every political, every moral, every religious motive, enforces strongly the necessity of crushing the faction which at present domineers in France.

First; Because if the balance of power is essential to the safety of Europe, France, by her present system of conquest, is effectually destroying it.

Secondly; Because all the treaties which have been entered into between nations, for their mutual security and benefit, are broken by France, whenever it suits her purpose, under a pretext of vindicating the Rights of Man.

Thirdly; Because, by way of adding insult to injury, she not only denies the right of European nations through the medium of their governments to guarantee the safety of each other, but even absolves the allegiance of the subject

subject to the constituted authorities, and declares herself ready to assist every people, who are inclined to annihilate the laws of their country, to take up arms against their government and become regicides to their King.

Fourthly; Because this pretended zeal for the cause of the people, independent of their government, is only the more effectually to have them under her power to rob them and reduce them to beggary;—as she has done in every place where her embrace of fraternity has yet been felt*.

* We have a notable inſtance of this in the conduct of the French General Cuſtine: When his army took poſſeſſion of Frankfort, he levied a contribution of 2,000,000 florins upon the inhabitants; but exempted thoſe from paying towards it who were not worth 30,000 florins. The following Extract from the Addreſs of the Burghers of Frankfort, whilſt it beſpeaks a nobleneſs and generoſity of ſentiment worthy of imitation, ſhows that they had a thorough conviction that the operation of this iniquitous exaction muſt ultimately reduce them to beggary.

" My General, in the Manifeſtoes which you have publiſhed, " you have addreſſed yourſelf to us, and have therein but too well " ſhewn, that you have the beſt intentions in the world with reſpect " to the loweſt Claſs of Citizens. We therefore place a perfect con- " fidence in you. Permit us then, in our turn, to ſpeak as openly " for once, and declare to you our real ſentiments.

" You wiſh to protect us againſt oppreſſion, which, God be " praiſed! the Citizens of Franckfort never heard of, much leſs " ever experienced. You wiſh to procure us that Liberty which " we enjoy already; ſo, my General, if you think we have been " hitherto oppreſſed, expoſed to exactions, or any evil treatment, " it muſt have been the enemies of our welfare who wiſhed to de- " ceive you. In ſhort, we are all happy and content. Our ge- " neral,

Fifthly; Because her principles are not only destructive to the general interests of the state into which they are introduced;—but they annihilate all those moral obligations, and that reciprocal confidence between man and man, which forms the basis and is the ornament of social life.

Sixthly; Because in her system of levelling, although she may destroy some nuisances, she introduces others which are ten times greater;—she puts the honest man upon a footing with the rogue and vagabond, and gives civic honors to assasins, who in other governments receive their reward at the gallows.

Seventhly; Because wherever her arms prevail, religion is scouted as an impostor, the prayers of a Christian are considered as the incense of a lunatic, and the house of God is literally converted into " a den of thieves."

" neral prosperity is too intimately connected with the happy Con-
" stitution, and with the welfare of our rich Citizens, for us not
" to intereſt ourſelves in their favour. Thus, when my General
" exacts ſuch conſiderable ſums from our richeſt Citizens, we, the
" middling Claſs, and poor Burghers, we alſo are puniſhed, inaſ-
" much as Commerce and Manufactures muſt neceſſarily ſuffer
" from it: the more that is taken from them, the leſs we ſhall gain
" of them; ſo we ſhall all be the loſers.

" Thus then, my General, ſince you ſet yourſelf up as a De-
" fender of Liberty, and as a Protector of the Public Welfare, you
" would be acting againſt your own principles, not to leave us as
" we are, and deſiſt from thoſe Contributions which we have as
" little right to pay you as our richer Citizens, and which muſt
" tend to the ruin of our State, hitherto ſo happy."

When

When these things are thoroughly considered, they surely afford sufficient ground for us not to shrink from the war which France hath so unjustly and so unprovokedly begun.—The only chance which the members of the present Convention have of maintaining their power, is, by introducing the same spirit of anarchy, licentiousness and misery into every other country which they now find in their own; in proportion as this may be effected they will divert the attention of Europe from their own iniquitous conduct.—A Member of the Convention lately observed, that France must make every other nation around her a republic, to guarantee her own safety; and the subsequent decrees of the Convention convince us, that they are at least resolved to try the experiment. It remained for England to determine, whether she would be the passive instrument, in effecting such a detestable purpose—Hesitation on such a case would have been weakness and folly—It would have resembled the sculking timidity of a man, who hesitates whether he shall compromise his safety with a robber, by participating in his guilt, or lend a hand to bring him to justice. Great Britain adopted the only line of conduct that could have been consistent with her honor, her dignity, or her principles.—Her decision was prompt, and her preparation vigorous—From the spirit with which the nation enters upon the

business of war, a speedy and successful termination may be inferred.—In the meanwhile let the people of this country unite heart and soul against a nation, in which all the crimes of the known world have found a common center of union—against a people, who have monopolized the iniquity of the earth—and, to the deep designing hypocrisy of accomplished villainy, the bane of civil life, have united a bloody, inhuman and revengeful ferocity, the worst feature in the savage.—

The character of a French republican is HYPOCRISY; wearing the MASK of FRIENDSHIP, and carrying a STILETTO under his coat.—He flatters to betray, and betrays to assassinate;—and when his crimes have thus found a climax on earth, to rescue himself from the reproaches of his own conscience, he embraces atheism, and denies the existence of a God.

This is the picture of the people with whom we are at war.—May Englishmen always bear it in their minds,—and by frequent contemplation learn sufficiently to detest it.

The sword is not now unsheathed by us, to gratify envy, malice, ambition, or avarice—but it is a war on our parts founded in justice, and sanctioned by reason—It is a war to resist the growing power of those who have neither wisdom to direct, or mercy to temper it;—to repel

those

those armed ruffians who propagate *liberal opinions* by fire and sword, who have enacted a code of laws to justify robbery, who hold it to be fair barter to take a man's hard money out of his pocket, and give him an empty doctrine in exchange for it—It is in fact a war to prevent a nation from subjugating us, which for twelve centuries has uniformly acted towards this country the part of an open enemy, or of a false friend —whose manners and whose principles have ever been obnoxious to the generous mind of an Englishman.—I am aware that these reflections will by some be considered as the result of national prejudice.—Be it so—It is a prejudice I hope I shall carry with me to my grave—To be prejudiced against vice, folly, treachery, and inhumanity, cannot be wrong; and whether these disgraceful qualities appertain to an individual or to a nation, they ought to be marked with the decided contempt and resistance of those to whom they are held out for imitation.

In expressing the foregoing sentiments, I conceive that I have vindicated my rights as an Englishman, and done no more than my duty in uniting my feeble efforts to rescue the constitution of my country from the unmerited obloquy which has been cast upon it.—If, in reviewing the situation of France, I have used the language of indignation, it was, because no

other

other language is merited by those who have prostituted the venerable and revered cause of of liberty to such unworthy, such inhuman actions, as liberty must blush to look on— "She would cease to be liberty if she did not."—I cannot better vindicate my motives in reprobating this licentiousness than in the sentiments of the patriotic poet:

"Yet think not thus, when Freedom's ills I state
"I mean to flatter kings, or court the great.
"Ye powers of truth that bid my soul aspire
"Far from my bosom drive the low desire!
"And thou, fair Freedom, taught alike to feel
"The rabble's rage and tyrant's angry steel:
"Thou transitory flower alike undone
"By cold contempt, or favor's fostering sun,
"Still may thy blooms the changeful clime endure,
"I ONLY WOULD REPRESS THEM TO SECURE."

FINIS.